

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY MADRID

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 6211

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, FR, IT, RO SP, UR, XH, YO

SUBJECT: ZAGLADIN, PONOMAREV ON PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

1. SUMMARY. V.V. ZAGLADIN, FIRST DEPUTY CHIEF OF THE CPSU
CENTRAL COMMITTEE INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT AND CHIEF WORKING-
LEVEL SOVIET NEGOTIATOR IN PREPARATION FOR THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST
PARTY CONFERENCE (ECPC), STRIKES A MUCH SOFTER TONE THAN THE
USUAL RUN OF SOVIET AND EE COMMENTARY ON THE CONTROVERSY
SURROUNDING "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" IN A LENGTHY SIGNED
PIECE IN PRAVDA APRIL 20. THE ARTICLE ADOPTS A MORE REASONED
APPROACH TO THE DEBATE OVER IDEOLOGICAL HERESY IN THE EUROPEAN
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COMMUNIST MOVEMENT THOUGH IT REMAINS FAIRLY FIRM ON SUBSTANCE.

AN ARTICLE IN THE LATEST ISSUE OF "PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIAL-ISM" BY BORIS PONOMAREV, AS INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT CHIEF, ALSO DISCUSSES THE CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES. WE WOULD INTERPRET THE TWO ARTICLES AS AN EFFORT BY THE CPSU TO STRIKE A STATESMANLIKE POSE ON THE EVE OF THE MAY-4-6 ECPC EDITORIAL COMMISSION MEETING. THE ARTICLES DO CONTAIN SOME SLIGHT EVIDENCE OF SHIFTS IN SUBSTANCE, AND MAY INDICATE AS WELL THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE BLINKED (OR CAN) ON SOME OF THE ROUGHER REMAINING ISSUES. THE EFFECT SHOULD BE TO ISOLATE THE FRENCH AS THE OBSTACLES TO AN ECPC CULMINATION, AND THIS MAY BE WHAT THE SOVIETS HAVE IN MIND. END SUMMARY.

2. BOTH PONOMAREV'S AND ZAGLADIN'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DEBATE MAY HAVE BEEN TEMPERED BY THE FORMER'S OBSERVATION--WELL HIDDEN IN THE MIDDLE OF HIS EIGHT-PAGE ARTICLE --THAT INTERNATIONALISM INCLUDES "CONCERN FOR...THE UNITY OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT WHICH PRESUPPOSES A CHOICE OF FORM AND TONE IN DISCUSSION AMONG FRATERNAL PARTIES WHICH EXCLUDES A SHARPENING OF DISAGREEMENT, (BUT RATHER) AIDS IN OVERCOMING THEM."

3. IN ANY EVENT, BOTH PIECES SPEAK WITH LOWERED VOICES. ZAGLADIN'S ARTICLE IS A SHARP DEPARTURE FROM SHRILL ASSERTIONS ON PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM BY SUCH FAITHFUL SOVIET SERVANTS AS HONECKER, WHOSE PRONOUNCEMENTS HAVE BEEN APPEARING WITH REGULARITY IN PRAVDA; AND A DEPARTURE AS WELL, THOUGH LESS PRONOUNCED, FROM OFFICIAL SOVIET STATEMENTS, INCLUDING THAT BY BREZHNEV AT THE PARTY CONGRESS. PONOMAREV'S IS ALSO SOFTER THAN HAS BEEN THE PRACTICE OF LATE, THOUGH HE IS STILL A BIT SHARPER THAN ZAGLADIN. (SINCE HE WAS WRITING ABOUT THE GENERAL INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 25TH PARTY CONGRESS, PONOMAREV'S DISCUSSION IS LESS DIRECTLY FOCUSED ON THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.)

4. ZAGLADIN LAYS DOWN THE LAW FAIRLY FIRMLY IN HIS OPENING PARAGRAPHS, COMPARING STATEMENTS BY LENING IN 1896 AND BREZHNEV IN 1976, AND DESCRIBING THEM AS EVIDENCE OF "DECADES OF UNCEASING STRUGGLE...FOR THE TRIUMPH OF THE PRINCIPLES OF PROLETARINA INTERNATIONALISM (P.I.)." AND HE ADDS THAT SINCE 1917 "THE INTER-DEPENDENCE (VZAIMOSVYAZ') BETWEEN, AND MUTUAL SUPPORT OF, THE WORKING CLASS AND SOCIALISM WHICH WAS VICTORIOUS AT THAT TIME AND THE WORKERS OF ALL OTHER COUNTRIES HAS SINCE BECOME IN ITS OWN

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TERMS AN AXIS OF P.I., AND IMPORTANT PART OF ITS ESSENCE." BUT HE ALSO PAUSES TO DEVELOP A THEME ONLY HINTED AT BY SUSLOV IN HIS ACADEMY OF SCIENCES SPEECH MARCH 17, BY KIRILENKO IN HIS SPEECH AT THE CZECHOSLOVAK PARTY CONGRESS, AND BY PONOMAREV IN HIS ARTICLE. P.I., HE SAYS, IS NOT UNCHANGING; SINCE ITS BEGINNINGS IN 1846 IT "HAS DEVELOPED AND HAS BEEN ENRICHED." ZAGLADIN SAYS THAT TWO EXAMPLES OF THIS HAVE BEEN THE DEVELOPMENT OF "SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM," A CONCEPT DEFINED AT THE 1957 AND 1960 WORLD

PARTY CONFERENCES; AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF "INTERNATIONALIST SOLIDARITY" WITH NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS.

5. RATHER THAN SIMPLY ASSERTING THAT THE NEED FOR UNITY IN THE MOVEMENT IS NOW GREATER THAN EVER, ZAGLADIN ATTEMPTS TO EXPLAIN WHY THAT IS SO AND GIVES A GENERALLY DEFENSIVE CAST TO THE EXPLANATION. HE WRITES THAT FIRST OF ALL, THE OPPORTUNITIES NOW OPEN TO COMMUNISTS IN BOTH HALVES OF THE WORLD IN ALLIANCE WITH NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS ARE NOW GREATER THAN EVER BEFORE, AND IT IS THE "SCARED OBLIGATION" TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THESE OPPORTUNITIES. BUT THEY CAN ONLY BE REALIZED, HE SAYS, IF THESE MOVEMENTS ALL ACT AS ONE; AND ACHIEVING THIS UNITY OF ACTION IS "AN ESPECIALLY TOPICAL TASK." THESE MOVEMENTS, HE GOES ON, MUST BE UNIFIED BECAUSE CAPITALISM IS TIGHTENING ITS RANKS--VIDE MULTI-NATIONAL CORPORATIONS AND MILITARY BLOCS SUCH AS NATO. ALSO, ALL ENEMIES OF PROGRESS FROM REACTIONARIES TO MAOISTS, HE SAYS, ARE PLACING MUCH HOPE ON SPLITTING THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT--IMPLYING THAT THE ZERO-SUM GAME REALLY DOES APPLY IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES.

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6. IN WORKING TOWARD THIS UNITY, HOWEVER, ZAGLADIN ASSERTS THAT "MANY REPRESENTATIVES" OF FRATERNAL PARTIES "NOTE THE IMPORTANCE OF CORRECTLY COMBINING THE INTERNATIONAL WITH THE NATIONAL, THE GENERAL WITH THE PARTICULAR IN THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE." PONOMAREV ALSO CONTENDS THAT "THE EXPERIENCE OF THE CPSU WITH ALL POSSIBLE CLARITY SHOWS THAT SUCCESS CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED THROUGH A CONSISTENT COMBINATION OF NATIONAL WITH INTERNATIONAL TASKS AND THROUGH A SKILLED, CORRECT USE OF GENERAL LAWS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR...SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION IN THE CONCRETE CONDITIONS OF EACH COUNTRY." IN A FURTHER STATEMENT BY ZAGLADIN HE ALSO TAKES NOTE OF THE NEED TO "COMBINE (THE GENERAL LAWS OF REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENT WITH) A CREATIVE APPROACH WHICH TAKES INTO ACCOUNT CONFIDENTIAL

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CONCRETE CONDITIONS IN EACH COUNTRY."

7. BOTH ZAGLADIN AND PONOMAREV EXPLICITLY DENY ATTEMPTS BY "BOUGEOIS PROPAGANDA" TO PROVE THAT INTERNATIONALISM IS SIMPLY ANOTHER MANIFESTATION OF A DESIRE FOR HEGEMONY BY SOME "PARTIES OVER OTHERS" (ZAGLADIN). ZAGLADIN SAYS THAT P.I. INVOLVES NOT ONLY SOLIDARITY AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE, BUT ALSO RESPECT FOR SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE. BUT A ONE-SIDED PREOCCUPATION WITH THE LATTER ASPECTS, HE ASSERTS, CAN LEAD TO A DESTRUCTION OF P.I., AND THUS A WEAKENING IN THE POSITION OF EVERY PARTY.

8. BOTH ALSO EXPLICITLY RECOGNIZE THAT P.I. IS UNDER SOME ATTACK IN THE MOVEMENT. ZAGLADIN SAYS THAT SOME VOICES (I.E., THE SPANISH, ALTHOUGH HE DOES NOT SPECIFY) ARE SAYING THAT P.I. IS OBSOLETE, WHILE OTHERS SAY THAT IT IS WRONG TO AFFIRM THAT THE SOVIET UNION'S EXPERIENCE IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM IS OF ANY VALUE ANYWHERE ELSE. ZAGLADIN EXPLAINS THAT NO ONE EXPECTS A MECHANICAL REPETITION OF OTHER PARTIES' EXPERIENCE; BUT "WITHOUT ANY DOUBT, EVEN TAKING INTO ACCOUNT ALL OF THE DIFFERENCES IN CONDITIONS, THE STUDY OF, AND KNOWLEDGE OF, THE EXPERIENCE OF STATES IN WHICH SOCIALIST SOCIETY IS ALREADY BUILT AND IS DEVELOPING IS USEFUL FOR THOSE PARTIES WHO ARE STRUGGLING TO ACHIEVE A SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION IN THEIR OWN COUNTRIES." PONOMAREV SAYS THAT THIS "EXPERIENCE" IS AVAILABLE IN THE SOVIET UNION "IN CONCENTRATED FORM"--A "LIVING EXAMPLE OF SOCIALISM."

9. PONOMAREV GOES A BIT FURTHER THAN ZAGLADIN IN SPECIFICALLY REFERRING TO THE NEED TO STRUGGLE NOT ONLY AGAINST LEFT REVISIONISM. AND HE EMPHASIZES THAT "MARXISM-LENINISM...IS THE SOLE CORRECT UNDERSTANDING" OF REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENT. IN OTHER

STATES, HE SAYS, ONE CAN FIND "TENS OF MODELS OF SOCIALSIMS AND REFORMIST CONCEPTS"; BUT IN NONE OF THESE STATES, HE AFFIRMS HAS CAPITALISM BEEN FINALLY DEFEATED.

10. COMMENT: THIS CHANGE IN TONE CAN PROBABLY BEST BE EXPLAINED BY THE IMMINENCE OF THE ECPC EDITORIAL COMMISSION MEETING AT PARTY SECRETARY LEVEL IN BERLIN MAY 4-6--A MEETING WHICH MAY WELL DETERMINE THE FATE OF THE EUROPEAN CONFERENCE. WHILE THE TONAL SHIFT IS STRIKING, THE CHANGES IN SUBSTANCE ARE LESS SO, AND THE SOVIET POSITION REMAINS FIRM IN MOST RESPECTS. NEVERTHELESS, THERE ARE ALSO SOME SIGNS OF SUBSTANTIVE MOVEMENT, IN ZAGLADIN'S CONFIDENTIAL

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PIECE ESPECIALLY. ZAGLADIN ATTEMPTS TO IMBUE P.I. WITH A FAIR DEGREE OF FLEXIBILITY (THOUGH LARGELY IMPLICITLY AND IN AREAS UNLIKELY TO BE OF GREAT INTEREST TO THE WESTERN AND SOUTHERN EUROPEAN AUTONOMIST PARTIES) AND HE BUILDS ON THIS AT THE CONCLUSION OF HIS ARTICLE, WHERE HE SEEMS TO BE SAYING, QUITE SIMPLY AND QUITE PROBABLY IN THE DIRECTION OF THOSE PARTIES, "YOU WILL HAVE NO REASON TO REGRET IT IF YOU TRUST US ON THIS ISSUE." THE SOVIET STRESS ON TRUST AND CONFIDENCE, SO PROMINENT IN PRONOUNCEMENTS ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS, IS THUS BEING APPLIED TO RELATIONS AMONG COMMUNISTS. THE WILLOW WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO BEND FURTHER THAN THAT, BUT IT IS A STEP AWAY FROM THE HONECKER-STYLE INTRANSIGENCE WHICH HAS BEEN THE RULE OF LATE. FURTHER, AND PERHAPS MOST STRIKINGLY, ZAGLADIN ALSO GREETES THE RESULTS OF THE WEST GERMAN, BULGARIAN, CZECHOSLOVAK, AND BELGIAN PARTY CONFERENCES AS HAVING "CONFIRMED A TENDENCY TOWARD THE FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF P.I." THE BELGIAN PARTY CONGRESS? WE'VE NOT YET RECEIVED A FULL REPORT ON IT, BUT OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT THE BELGIAN CP WAS ANYTHING BUT FORTHCOMING TO THE SOVIET POSITION ON P.I. IF OUR IMPRESSION IS CORRECT, WE WOULD READ ZAGLADIN'S STATEMENT AS MEANING THAT FOR THE INTERIM--THIS IS, UNTIL THE ECPC IS OVER AND DONE WITH-- THE SOVIETS MAY DECIDE TO INTERPRET ALMOST ANY RELATIVELY POSITIVE STATEMENT BY A EUROPEAN PARTY AS SUPPORTING P.I. TAKEN TOGETHER, THE STATESMANLIKE POSE AND THE SMALL SUBSTANTIVE SHIFTS IN THESE TWO ARTICLES SHOULD SERVE TO ISOLATE THE FRENCH AS THE OBSTACLES TO ECPC PROGRESS AND EVEN ECPC CULMINATION, AND WE SUSPECT THIS IS WHAT THE SOVIET MAY HAVE CHIEFLY IN MIND.

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